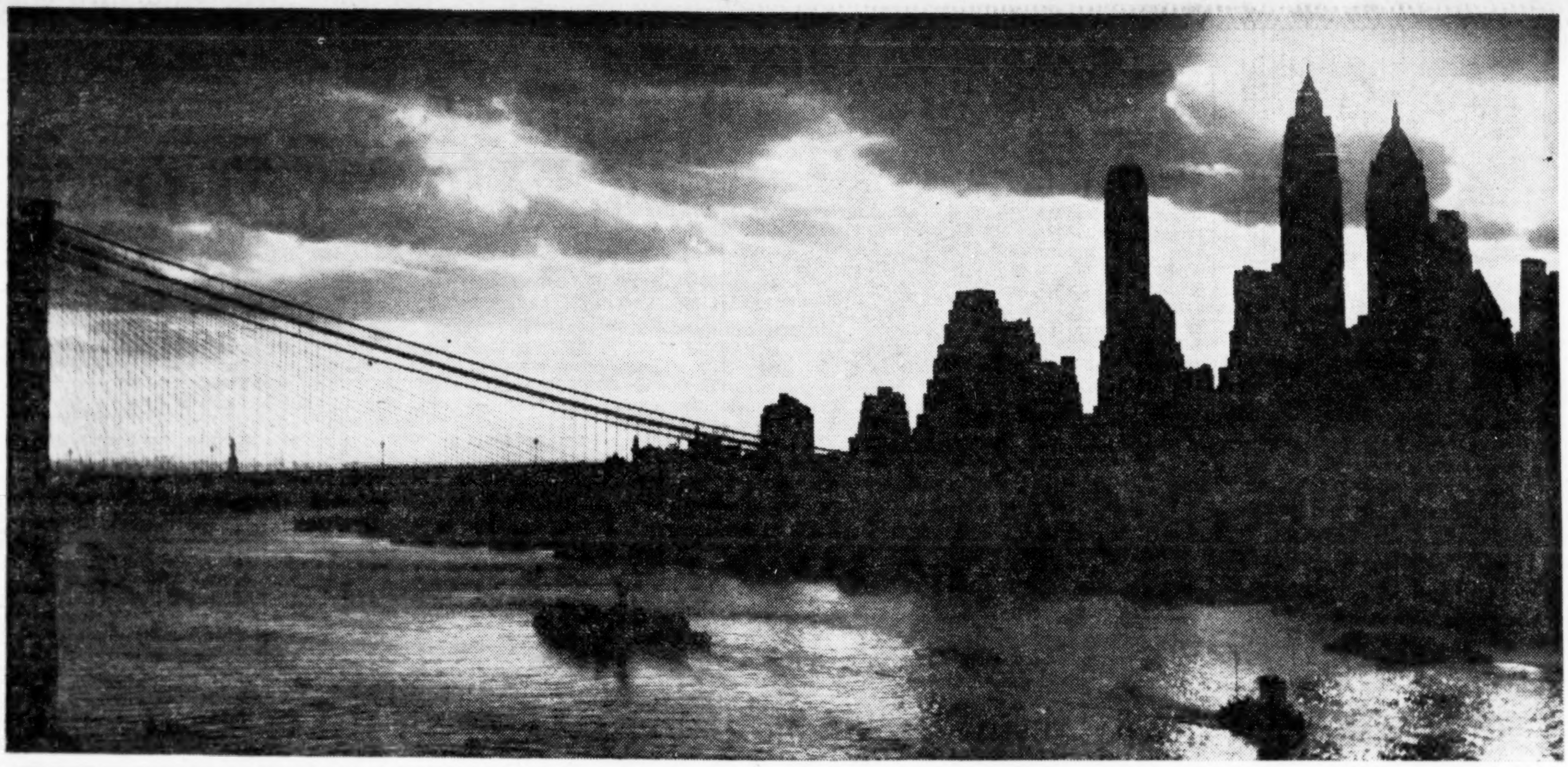

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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VOL. 12, NO. 8
NEW YORK, DECEMBER 7, 1959

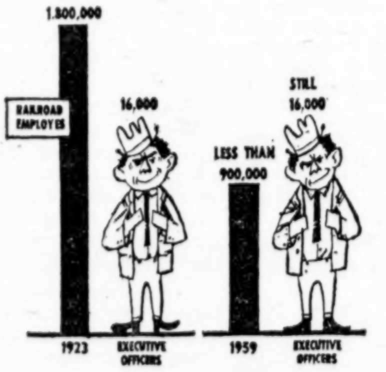
WHO'S GOT THE FEATHERS?

Railroads set for showdown with unions

By Robert E. Light

IN 1890, the story goes, a railroad brakeman complained to a company official about the quality of cornhusks the company was providing as mattress stuffing for the bunks in the caboose. "What do you expect," the official asked, "a featherbed?" From this dialogue the term "featherbedding" is supposed to have come. It has been used since to refer to a cushy job and more recently to an alleged union practice of forcing an employer to hire more workers for a job than are really needed.

Whatever its origin, "featherbedding" has been given wide usage this year by the Assn. of American Railroads in ads in almost 10,000 daily and weekly newspapers across the country. The ads claim that "featherbedding"—pay for work not performed or not needed—is costing the railroads $500,000,000 a year. The campaign, started in January at enormous expense, is designed to win public support for the companies during a nationwide strike they are certain will come this spring.



Labor, Washington, D.C.

Featherbedding by top rail "brass": 1923-1959

In this issue

SEASON OF AMNESTY
Report to Readers . . . . p. 2
DE GAULLE & ALGERIA
Peace hopes fade . . . . p. 3
MALTHUSIANS WRONG
By J. D. Bernal . . . . . . p. 5
HOPE OF THE SOUTH
By Anne Braden . . . . pp. 6-7
BROWN GIRL
A book review . . . . . . p. 8
IVAN THE TERRIBLE
See the Spectator . . . . p. 12

WHAT THEY WANT: Across-the-table negotiations have not yet begun (a date is about to be announced) between the companies and the 23 railroad brotherhoods to replace the agreement that expired Nov. 1, but both sides announced in advance what they would seek. The brotherhoods representing 600,000 non-operating employes will ask for a 15c-an-hour wage increase in addition to holiday and other benefits. The 250,000 operating employes will want a 12%-14% wage increase plus "fringe" benefits. The companies will counter with a 15c-an-hour wage cut, elimination of cost-of-living increases and changes in the work rules to eliminate "featherbedding."

The wide disparity between the proposals and the unlikelihood that either side can force the other substantially off its course make a strike this spring seem a certainty. In preparation, the railroads

(Continued on Page 4)

THIS IS NEW YORK . . .

Shame of the city: What befalls those who tell the story

By James Aronson

This is New York—a city of eight million humans and nine million rats; a city dominated by its $2 billion-a-year bureaucracy, its multi-billion-dollar rackets, its executive-suite deals for power on the political, the business and the underworld levels. It is a city of the very rich and the very poor in which the middle class and the small businessman are being steadily squeezed and crushed. It is a city in which corruption has become inbred, in which sloth and indifference rule, in which nobody cares what happens to people—not even to an eight-year-old boy whose parents have just been murdered. It is a city that has lost its soul.

THIS WAS THE OPENING paragraph of the conclusion of an article in the **Nation** magazine for Oct. 31, 1959—a 60-page article, taking up the entire issue, written by two reporters for the New York **World-Telegram & Sun,** Fred J. Cook and Gene Gleason.

It was also the opening—the conclusion is yet to come—of one of the most bizarre episodes in the journalistic history of a city which has seen its share of the bizarre.

It came at a time when the city was grimy with new scandals and old: the revelations that thousands of housewives were being bilked by crooked scales and crooked city inspectors; that slum landlords were getting away with murder in vermin-infested tenements; that pollution of the air was reaching alarming proportions, subway breakdowns threatening human life and school conditions robbing children of the right to education—all these things in a city which is the capital of the quiz show payoffs and the "payola" racket in the recording industry.

But since the new episode takes some unraveling, let's begin at the beginning.

THE MUCKRAKERS: Fred Cook is a 16-year veteran of the **World-Telegram,** a good reporter and the author of the **Nation's** special FBI article (Oct. 18, 1958) for which he won a Page One Award of the Newspaper Guild of New York. Gene Gleason, four years with the **World-Telegram,** also was an award winner; he has a reputation as a digger. His editors once said of him: "No one awes him. He is tough, physically and mentally."

The pair had collaborated on many muckraking stories for their paper and they combined much of their findings, together with new material, in "The Shame of New York" for the **Nation.** The special issue investigated many areas of the visible and invisible government of the city; went behind the scenes at Tammany Hall; profiled Carmine de Sapio, Mayor Wagner and Mike Quill of the Transport Workers Union; exposed the rackets and payoffs that go on daily in the city, and concentrated especially on the infamous Title I slum-clearance program dominated by the imperial Robert Moses.

THE SMEAR BUCKET: It was a most effective and workmanlike presentation. The **Nation** printed 52,000 copies, about

(Continued on Page 9)

THE MAIL BAG

Just like old times

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

(Excerpts from a letter from a friend in West Germany):

Neo-fascist activity in the **Bundesrepublic** is steadily increasing. Just a short time ago, there was a convention of former SS members in Hameln and a meeting of veterans of the former Condor Legion (Hitler's fighters in Spain under Franco) in Mingen. At the election in Bremen in October, the votes cast for the neo-fascist **Deutsche Reichspartei** increased from 5,500 in 1957 to 14,700.

At a trial in Koeppern, three defendants were tried for disturbing the peace, assault and battery and disorderly conduct. They attacked and beat up Mr. and Mrs. Sumpf, an elderly Jewish couple, owners of a small restaurant in Koeppern. In typical Nazi Stormtrooper-style, they shouted: "Jewish swine," "Filthy Jew," "Just shoot that Jew down," and "That's a Jew they forgot to gas." The prosecution asked for two to four months in jail.

At a convention of school superintendents of Lower Saxony, Secretary of Education Voigt said: ". . . our school children are again subjected to the lies and deceptions and enticements of Nazi propaganda." He said that about 40,000 copies of such literature is distributed among children, organized in such groups as Young Storm, Youth Corps Scharnhorst, Young Steelhelmet, Bismark Youth and Viking Youth. Among college students it is the Bund of Nationalistic Students.

And look at our press. The Springer concern publishes (besides the **Welt**, the daily with the largest circulation in the Bundesrepublik) the tabloid **Bild** (circulation 1,500,000) and the magazine **Kristall**. Mrs. Axel Springer, wife of the owner of West Germany's largest newspaper concern, is the daughter of Samuel Lorenz, former SS-Obergruppen Fuehrer and Director of the SS Headquarters, Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle. One of the editorial staff of **Kristall** is Dr. Paul Robert Schmidt, former press secretary of Nazi Foreign Secretary von Ribbentrop. Schmidt, who was also a member of the SS, is an old friend of Samuel Lorenz.

O. C. J.

For Morton Sobell

BRONX, N.Y.

As I read the press each day, I see that no other country in the "free world" has shown so much callousness toward someone they only suspected as has the United States by imprisoning Morton Sobell.

If the State Department, Congress, and others feel so strongly about Morton Sobell's guilt, then we should, by principle, immediately break relations with England, Japan, Germany and Italy, to say the least, since these countries have dealt far less harshly with people who were actually guilty.

Paul Meyerson

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

"But I shudder to think what would happen if suddenly the world decided actually to abolish the atom bomb. There will always be planes, but any one of five companies could make all the commercial planes needed for the whole world." [James H. (Dutch) Kindelberger, board chairman of North American Aviation, speaking to the Executives Dinner Club at the Beverly Hills Hotel.]

Los Angeles **Times**, 11/14/59

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Betty S., Los Angeles 36, Cal.

●

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Alfred Dreyfus was condemned to Devil's Island for a crime he never committed. So was Morton Sobell condemned to Alcatraz (and now Atlanta) for a crime he never committed.

I lost my only son at Iwo Jima. He gave his life for the Four Freedoms in America. Mr. Artukovich, who murdered thousands of people collaborating with Hitler, is enjoying this freedom, whereas Morton Sobell is paying a dreadful penalty for no murder or crime.

Mr. President! In the name of justice and humanity, exercise your Good Will to a man Morton Sobell and give Peace to a heartbroken family.

Paul Paisner

Free Al Fisher

PINEHURST, WASH.

With the Christmas Season approaching, Brother Al Fisher remains incarcerated in McNeil Island Penitentiary.

Please write to President Eisenhower asking for executive clemency, in light of the repeal of the oath section of the Taft-Hartley Law and the fact that the maximum term under present legislation is one year. (Al will complete one year of his term Jan. 21, 1960).

Holiday cards may be addressed to: Mr. Avalo A. Fisher, P.O. Box 1000, Steilacoom, Wash.

We understand it is possible to include monetary donations for Al's use at the prison, and these will be credited to his commissary account.

Al always has been fond of quoting his father, who reminded his congregations that the correct Biblical quotation was, "Peace on Earth to Men of Goodwill." We sincerely hope that thousands of people of good will will join with us during this season of peace and brotherhood to work for Al's release.

Committee to Free A.A. Fisher,
P. O. Box 282,
Pinehurst, Washington

Keep the Vigil going

FREDERICK, MD.

The time has come to "winterize" the Vigil at Fort Detrick against chemical, biological and radiological warfare (CBR). To keep going until at least Jan. 1, 1960 the Vigil needs:

- Warm clothing, galoshes, rain coats, wool socks.
- Money to pay two months rent and maintainance on our headquarters at 324 West Patrick St., Frederick, Md.

Do what you can and the Vigil will be O.K.

Lawrence Scott
Stewart Meacham

Cleverly designed

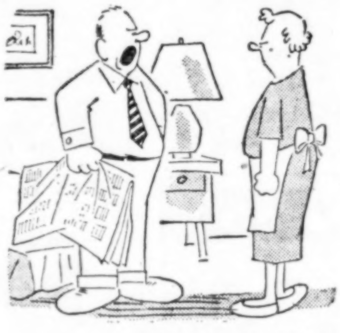
NEW YORK, N.Y.

TV quiz and other scandals are cleverly designed by the powers that be, to divert the minds of the people from the real issues that now confront us.

Khrushchev's visit to the United States was like a breath of fresh air come on the American scene.

This, our misleadership — the press, radio and TV—wish to make the people forget.

Harry Fries



London Sunday Express

"I may have a lot of faults, but being wrong isn't one of them."

For Mack Parker

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

However justice may eventually be served in the Mack Parker case, we are still faced with an unfinished task—enactment of a Federal anti-lynch law, so that future outrages may be dealt with summarily and swiftly. Congress must be bombarded with this demand. Above all, every hopeful presidential aspirant must be compelled to declare himself on this subject.

United in this determination we can make our joint power felt if each of us will but say in the words of William Lloyd Garrison, "I will be heard!"

Muriel I. Symington

Water from the well

ST. PAUL, MINN.

Dr. Mordecai Johnson's "A program to make the 'Free World' truly free" is a remarkable challenge to sober thought and action. As an old farmer who has had occasion to ponder, behind the plow or on a milk-stool, on why the most essential and hardest labor brought the least return, I must endorse Dr. Johnson's outstanding message.

Among other Guardian prize articles the ones about John Brown were especially instructive and inspiring. May this well never go dry.

Oscar Christensen

Art of photography

NEW YORK, N.Y.

It is heartwarming to note that student demonstrators in India always find time to letter their picket signs in English. Presumably they also have signs in their own language.

In recent months the daily press has carried photos of students holding aloft banners bearing such messages as "Welcome Dalai Lama" and "Stop the Violence in Kerala." Latest in the series, in connection with the border incidents, reads "Dismiss Menon" . . . in perfect English.

This is indeed a fine example of neutralmanship.

F. L. H.

Stamps, anyone?

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.

Interested in an exchange of ideas, etc., through exchange of letters, stamps, and wish to join a Stamp-Correspondence Club?

Will send the necessary information on request.

Jon H. Sherman
15 Mine St.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE TRUMAN "FAIR DEAL" has been working all along for a rearmed Germany—for the anti-Soviet alliance proposed by Himmler in 1945. Whether they worked actively for it or not, the "liberals" are in bed with that policy. That is where "liberals" must end up when they become infected with red-herring madness—the notion that, because everything in socialist Russia is not exactly as they would like, all is secondary to fighting Russia.

Now that the "Fair Deal" stands exposed in its final nakedness, no progressive or liberal with clear vision can fail to know who is the enemy. The issues are here at the door. The American fight for peace is a fight against the whole Truman foreign policy, and to force the administration to carry out its campaign promises for abundance at home.

Let those who are concerned about the shortcomings of the Soviet Union go there and fix them up. We will stay and fight the enemy at home.

—**Editorial in the National Guardian, Dec. 5, 1949**

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the progressive newsweekly

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Vol. 12, No. 8 December 7, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

Season of amnesty

IS PRESIDENT EISENHOWER on your list to receive holiday greetings? We think he should be. We suggest that your holiday message include (1) the season's best wishes; (2) a word of appreciation for initiating the exchange of visits with Premier Khrushchev; and (3) a request that he grant Christmas amnesty to the few political prisoners in our Federal penitentiaries.

We suggest this order because the President deserves appreciation and thanks for his steps to help melt the Cold War ice a bit; the holiday season is an appropriate time to greet him; and in this context, your appeal for the political prisoners may hitchhike its way through the White House secretariat, which ordinarily intercepts amnesty mail and sends it on to the Pardons Attorney or some other individual who can promptly pigeonhole it. Don't forget that even Pope Pius XII couldn't get his clemency appeal for the Rosenbergs through the White House guard to Presidential attention.

Perhaps it might be politic not to refer in your appeal to "political prisoners," since this country doesn't admit that it has any, but rather specifically to the names of those for whom you ask executive clemency. Indeed, those we think of as warranting executive clemency are not all of one group, and cannot accurately be characterized by any one term. They are people jailed or facing jail because of the Cold War hysteria, the drive for conformity, or because as individuals they decided that defending constitutional freedoms was more important than bowing down to Congressional inquisitors.

OUR LIST WOULD start with Morton Sobell, now serving his tenth year of a 30-year sentence meted out at the height of the hysteria which brought death to the Rosenbergs. Another almost forgotten victim of this hysteria is Alfred Dean Slack, jailed on a plea entered on atrocious legal advice, in a scantily-publicized companion proceeding of the Rosenberg-Sobell case. Three Smith Act victims are still in Federal prisons and should be released: Gil Green, Robert Thompson and Henry Winston.

Further, we believe the President should be asked to terminate all proceedings and free anybody jailed under the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit provision, no longer operative since passage of the new Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law.

Some 30 teachers, writers, artists and others face jail terms for defending the First Amendment against Congressional witch hunters. One of the 30, college teacher Lloyd Barenblatt, has already entered jail. Your message could ask clemency for Barenblatt and termination of proceedings against all the other First Amendment defendants.

If Ike were to act on the foregoing cases, he could make the same claim when he goes to the Soviet Union that Nikita Khrushchev was able to make when he came here: that there are no political prisoners in his country's jails. Had Ike acted on any of them before taking off on his world tour this month, his reception in each of the countries on his itinerary would have been mightily enhanced—in the eyes of the people everywhere, if not some of their leaders.

IN THIS CONNECTION, we have received a copy of a letter sent to the President by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade of the Spanish civil war. The letter expresses regret at his decision to visit Francisco Franco, and suggested that one way to counteract the bad effect of this stopover would be for our President to call on Franco to release the thousands of political prisoners in Spain. Few if any of these prisoners are holdovers from the Spanish war of 20 years ago; they are for the most part people of all shades of opinion jailed for opposition to various phases of authoritarian government. They are strikers, libertarians, artists, intellectuals, in whose behalf, the Lincoln Vet's letter to President Eisenhower suggests: "You can strike a great blow for American prestige, proudly enhance the reputation of our country and win friends in Spain and throughout the world if you add your voice to the call for amnesty."

It is too late for the rest of us to add our amens to the Lincoln Vets' message. It is not too late for all of us to move for some human triumphs at home when the President returns.

—**THE GUARDIAN**

P. S. The impending imprisonment of Dr. Willard Uphaus by the State of New Hampshire for standing on his Constitutional rights is not a matter for President Eisenhower's action, but it should be a concern of Gov. Wesley Powell. Write him at Concord, N. H., asking that New Hampshire drop the case against Dr. Uphaus.

CAN DE GAULLE CONTROL HIS OWN HOTHEADS?

Hopes fade in France for an early armistice with Algeria

On Nov. 20 the Algerian Provisional Government in Tunis proposed that five of their leaders held in French jails be given safe conduct to Paris to discuss cease-fire terms and other matters connected with Gen. de Gaulle's offer of elections and self-determination.

The Algerians named as their negotiators Vice Premier Mohammed Ben Bella, held by the French for treason since October, 1956, and four other Ministers of State "in absentia" in French jails. Gen. de Gaulle was reported angered by the proposal and rejected it abruptly: "We have told those who are fighting what was necessary if they wanted peace as we wanted it. They have only to take the road we have invited them to take. I am speaking, of course, of those who are fighting. I am not speaking of those who are out of the fight." He was quoted as saying in private: "So much the worse for them. It will be their fault if peace is slow in coming. The pacification will continue. There will be pacification not by a negotiated cease-fire but because the firing will cease for lack of combatants."

In their proposals the Algerians referred to declarations by leading French government officials and by de Gaulle himself and said they "remove all the sense from self-determination and make guarantees on the methods of a free consultation more than ever necessary." The following dispatch was written two days before the Provisional Government's proposal, but sheds considerable light on the events preceding it.

FIVE ALGERIAN LEADERS CAPTURED BY FRENCH TRICKERY IN 1956
A pilot flying them from Morocco to Tunisia obeyed a French order to land them in French territory. Gen. de Gaulle has just rejected an offer by the Algerian Provisional Government that Vice Premier Mohammed Ben Bella (far right) head a negotiating team to Paris. Ben Bella is charged with treason.

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

RUMORS PERSIST from Tunis that the Algerian Provisional Government, if it obtains sufficient UN backing, will take up in some form Gen. de Gaulle's offer of self-determination. But an early armistice, predicted by some, is not in sight. The political climate here since de Gaulle's press conference on Nov. 10 reflects the uncertainty of an early peace.

De Gaulle's press conference added little to his Sept. 16 offer of self-determination. The endless debates around the magic key word have now settled into fixed attitudes. All political groups today —except for the die-hard ultras in Algeria and here—are on record as approving self-determination for Algeria, but they do not all mean the same thing by it.

The Communist Party got headlines in all the right-wing papers lately for what they called a spectacular turn-about in favor of self-determination. The facts are somewhat different. The CP central committee in early November corrected what party leader Maurice Thorez called an error of appraisal: In September (Thorez was then out of the country) the political bureau had described self-determination as offered by de Gaulle as a "purely demagogical maneuver."

VIEWS DEFINED: Thorez said in substance in his self-critical speech that it is not the principle of self-determination that must be questioned; the CP itself has asked for nothing much different for the past five years. The offer of self-determination to Algeria, coming from de Gaulle, he said, is in itself a decisive victory: it is an implicit admission that the policy of "pacification" and the comedy of "fraternization" in Algeria have failed. The important thing, he said, is the conditions under which self-determination is offered. He asked: Since de Gaulle and the Algerian Provisional Government agree on self-determination, why continue the war? Why not make peace immediately? He added that we cannot be against peace if peace should come from de Gaulle.

Thorez also restated the CP's general position with regard to de Gaulle. "It is not we who have changed," he said. "It is de Gaulle—at least verbally." On other matters, he said, "nothing is changed for us as far as de Gaulle is concerned. We have no reason to modify in any way our appraisal of his regime and of the aims he pursues."

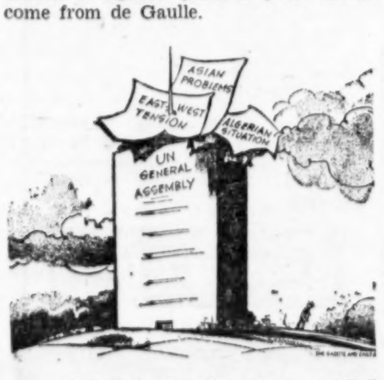
HERO SOUSTELLE: At the other end of the political spectrum, inside the Union of the New Republic, self-determination takes on a different color. The long-awaited first UNR congress just held in Bordeaux confirms that the new Gaullist party born in the May, 1958, Algiers putsch cannot belie its origin. Minister Jacques Soustelle, who was frantically applauded at the three-day meeting, was the hero of the congress, emotionally speaking. The Soustelle extreme right-wing tendency represented only about one-third of the delegates, but they were by far the most aggressively active. Observers were struck by the vocal and muscle power of fascist elements at the congress. A number of delegates, as they walked up to the speaker's platform, found it wise to take a body-guard.

It was clear at Bordeaux that the great majority of the congress meant its opposite when it approved self-determination. Explicitly banned was what de Gaulle himself has called "secession." The UNR will let the Algerians choose their future freely—provided they don't choose independence.

Explosive words like "integration" were left out of the closing compromise motion, but this could not conceal the ideological sickness inside the party. The UNR began its existence last year with blind obedience to one man as its only political doctrine. If it ever has to choose between that obedience and its "French Algeria" myth that lifted de Gaulle and the Fifth Republic into power in the first place, then it might be precipitated into a crisis that would shake more than just a party. If de Gaulle ever means to apply self-determination seriously in Algeria, with impartial observance of suggested alternatives, then chances are that France will not have seen its last Algerian plot.

FADING HOPE: But is there hope that the process of self-determination will be fairly and honestly carried out in Algeria? Several highly placed government spokesmen, only days before the de Gaulle press conference, seemed to cancel out any chances for it. Pierre Guillamat, Minister of the Armed Forces, in a message to the Army in Algeria, promised that "French authorities alone" will conduct the Algerian self-determination referendum. Premier Michel Debré himself specified that "on French soil France alone will conduct the elections. The army will be present, with the necessary strength."

After de Gaulle's press conference, the same two questions are still unanswered: Does de Gaulle really want a fair and liberal solution in Algeria? And if so, does he have the means of enforcing it over the heads of all those who have helped him to power, and who cannot and will not permit a liberal solution?



Walt Partymiller, York Gazette and Daily
Much work ahead

THEY WANT A SUMMIT MEETING NOW

Adenauer visit irritates the British

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

WEST GERMANY'S Dr. Adenauer has come and gone, and the ocean of printer's ink devoted to his London visit adds up to just about zero. With mounting despair newsmen sought something solid to report, but they never really expected much.

The one clear fact emerging is that the British public is impatient for a Summit conference and irritated by Adenauer's efforts to delay it; as the **Evening Standard** aptly commented, they "simply do not see why a nation that began two world wars should be allowed to undermine moves to make a third and final conflict impossible."

Before his sessions with Adenauer, Prime Minister Macmillan compared these "pre-Summit" visits with the first stage of "that nice old-fashioned dance, the Lancers." A cartoon comment by Cummings of the **Daily Express** showed Macmillan in dance pumps whirling with an enormous Adenauer, who wears a dress and massive spiked boots; Foreign Secy. Selwyn Lloyd is telling Macmillan from the sidelines: "Careful not to tread on your partner's toes—she's very sensitive."

FORBIDDEN WORD: Neither side expected any substantial change in the other's position regarding Summit talks, and this was borne out by the announcement on the second day that "it was decided not to mention the word 'disengagement.'"

But Adenauer presumably saw the visit as a means to build his own "prestige," and in his farewell press conference presented West Germany as virtually on a par with Britain and France in the cold-war "partnership" with the U.S. "Your Foreign Secretary has been in Paris, now I am in London, and soon we shall all meet with President Eisenhower," he said —and then spoke of his "old friends" Churchill and Eden whom he had been "so happy to see" here.

The way Macmillan handled the visit was a reminder of the contradictions within Britain's ruling class, which originally promoted the cold war but now sees a relaxation as in its interest.

The press gave Adenauer and West Germany a big advance build-up, stressing the "democracy" of the Bonn "bulwark against communism." This went so far that the "Labor" Sunday paper **Reynolds News** published a sympathetic interview with West German Ambassador von Herwarth, in which he insisted—after the classical introductory remark, "my grandmother was Jewish"—that all West German leaders are fervently anti-Nazi. Every newspaper except the **Daily Worker** either ignored or poured whitewash on the rehabilitation of Nazis and the all-out attack on democratic organizations.

PUBLIC UNMOVED: Clearly the Tories would have liked the public to respond to the visit of Europe's leading anti-communist with a kind of reserved warmth, but rarely have such strenuous efforts failed so completely. On the eve of his arrival, many persons interviewed in the streets by BBC Television expressed little or no interest in the visitor, and still more agreed with the two young London women who said they "wouldn't trust the Germans an inch."

Daily Mirror columnist "Cassandra," also interviewed on the program, distinguished himself by scathing references to the West German Nazi renaissance. It ended with the London television interviewer apologizing tc a Duesseldorf journalist who was hooked up with the program, and who then proceeded to assure Britain that "wherever we find Nazis we root them out." One could almost hear the impolite noises of disbelief around millions of British hearths.

THE OTHER GERMANY: At the same time efforts to make the British public more aware of "the other Germany" were having a modest success. The recently-closed East German (GDR) exhibition was re-opened for the occasion, and at a well-attended evening forum there questions on the GDR—many of them hostile—were effectively answered by a panel of experts including a teacher and two British journalists.

Most warmly applauded was the panel's suggestion that, after suffering in two wars of German aggression, Britain should be grateful for a Germany which solemnly accepts its existing frontiers. Three performances by Deutsches Theater artists of songs and excerpts from Bertolt Brecht, East Germany's most popular "cultural export," were sold out.

The attitude of ordinary Londoners toward Adenauer's visit may be summed up as a mixture of irritation and boredom. In this country West Germany remains at the bottom of the international popularity poll despite all efforts to change this, and the GDR is still very little known.

While Adenauer was in our midst, 4,000 Londoners were giving a delirious reception every night to our latest Soviet visitors, the Georgian State Dancers. For its pre-eminence as art and showmanship, and for what it implies with regard to government attitudes toward culture, this performance is in a class apart from anything West Germany can produce.

The railroads

(Continued from Page 1)

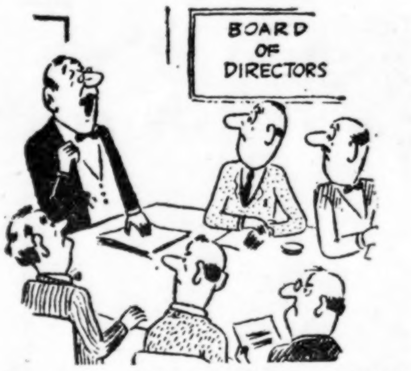
took out strike insurance with the Imperial Insurance Co., Ltd., of Nassau.

Under the Railway Labor Act each railroad must serve each of the union locals in its area with the industry's proposals. This was done Nov. 2. Next, both sides must decide whether their dispute is a regional or national matter. There is no question that it is the latter. Then negotiations begin.

THE PROCEDURE: If negotiations collapse, both sides can call on the Natl. Mediation Board. If the board cannot bring the sides together or get them to agree to arbitration, the matter is referred to the President. He is required by law to appoint an Emergency Fact-Finding Board to look into the dispute.

This body has 30 days to complete its fact-finding, although that period may be extended by the President. After the board submits its report and recommendations, which are not binding, the unions must wait through a 30-day "cooling off" period before calling a strike. The entire process is generally estimated to take four or five months.

To aid in its propaganda campaign, the railroads hired three public relations firms. As a measure of their work so far, the companies issued an "Analysis of Newspaper Editorials on Railroad Topics." It showed that in the second quarter of the year, 1,055 editorials were published on "featherbedding" in railroads; 1,039 (98.5%) supported the companies' view. Some of this may be accounted for by a letter sent by J. Handly Wright, AAR vice president in charge of public relations, to each of the papers which carried the companies' ads which set forth the "facts" in management's case. It said the "simple principle" on which the railroads stand is "A Fair Day's



London Evening Standard

"All those opposed to my plan will signify by saying 'I resign'!"

Work for a Fair Day's Pay." The letter concluded: "We think you will approve of this principle. If you have any questions on the subject, I would welcome the opportunity to provide the answers."

FIGURES CAN LIE: Apparently most editors took the hint. But the **Gazette** in Charleston, W. Va., missed the point. It ran an editorial on the railroads' ads called, "How To Lie With Statistics." The companies have not advertised in the **Gazette** since.

The burden of the companies' "featherbedding" arguments is that the work rules were written in 1919-1920 when trains had fires or boilers that needed tending and when a 100-mile trip was a day's run. The companies point out that trains now have diesel engines but are forced to carry firemen who have no fires to tend. In addition, operating employes are paid on a "piece rate" basis measured by a 100-150 mile run. Non-operating employes are paid on the basis of an eight-hour day. With the advent of the diesel engine, the companies say, engineers on the 225-mile Washington-to-New York run make 2¼ days' pay in four hours. These practices, they say, cost the railroads dearly and are forcing them to lose business.

The unions counter that the companies are playing with words and statistics. They point out that railroad workers are not covered by Federal wage and hour minimums and that their wages and working conditions are actually worse than for most other skilled workers. In addition, railroad profits are at a record high; net income for 1958 reached $602,000,000.

Also, they say, the real problem is increasing mechanization in the industry. Employment has decreased by more than half in the last 35 years and from 1,200,000 in 1949 to 850,000 today. And productivity of railroad workers in the last decade has increased 43.6% against 21.6% for American industry generally.

UNPAID TIME: As for excessive wages because of the mileage system, the unions point out that train crews are not paid for time spent in the terminals checking the trains before and after runs, nor are they paid for lay-over time before their return trips. They receive no paid holidays, no premium pay for Sunday work and often work seven days a week. According to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the average pay for train and engine service employes is $2.62 an hour.

Firemen, the unions claim, perform necessary safety functions. They are in charge of the power plant in diesel engines. Also, they serve as assistants to the engineers and can take over the trains in an emergency. They maintain a constant watch on one side of the train, while the engineers cover the other. When diesel engines were first introduced, many railroads carried two firemen or one fireman and a mechanic in each train. Now the job is done by only one man.

REAL FEATHER BEDS: If there is any "featherbedding" in the industry, the unions claim, it is on the side of management which has maintained the same number of executives for the past 35 years and has paid them enormous salaries.

The railroads' tactic of centering their fire on "featherbedding" closely parallels the steel companies' rigid line on work rule changes. And as in the steel strike, management's insistence on rule changes may actually unite labor. Before the strike the steel union was flabby and many members were openly critical of the leadership. But the union closed ranks around the work rule issue, and today it is a fighting organization.

Signalman's Journal, Chicago

"I'm glad you dropped in, Marge. It's nice to hear a human voice again."

The railroad workers are divided into 23 brotherhoods, riddled with a narrow craft outlook and some with jimcrow constitutions. Often the unions have preferred to fight among themselves rather than with the companies. But by now it should be clear to them that the railroads mean business and perhaps they have learned a lesson from the steel strikers.

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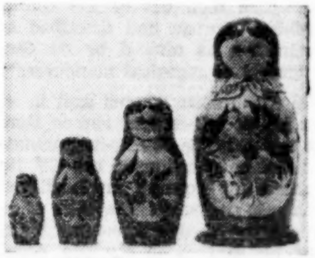

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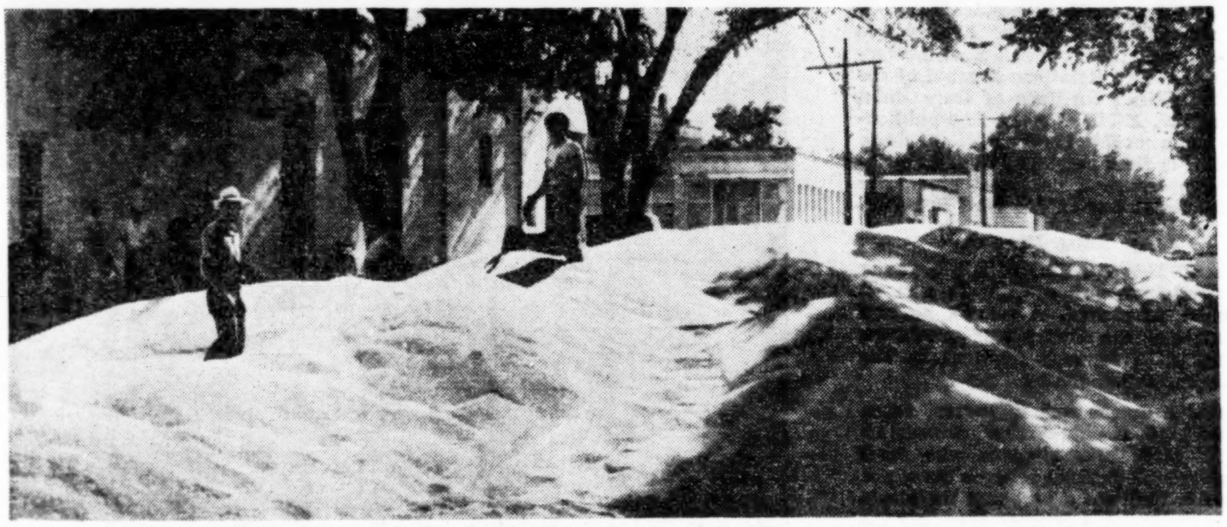
J. D. BERNAL ANSWERS THE NEO-MALTHUSIANS

Population growth is no threat for a free society



WE CAN ALREADY GROW ALL THE FOOD NEEDED TO FEED THE HUNGRY AROUND THE WORLD
The hills above are part of a bumper Kansas harvest of wheat lacking storage space.

*In recent widely publicized statements, British historian Arnold Toynbee (*New York Times*, Nov. 2) and scientist Sir Charles Darwin (*U.S. News & World Report*, Nov. 23) have urged a world check on population increase because of, as Toynbee put it, "a maximum beyond which mankind's food supply cannot be expanded." Darwin, a grandson of the originator of the theory of evolution, said the world's population would be nearly doubled, to five billion, 50 years hence, "and what is to stop their doubling again in the next 50 years?" Darwin said the world could double its food production, but that a limit would be reached which would be insufficient to feed a population of ten billion, which he calculated would be reached "a lot shorter than 200 years hence."*

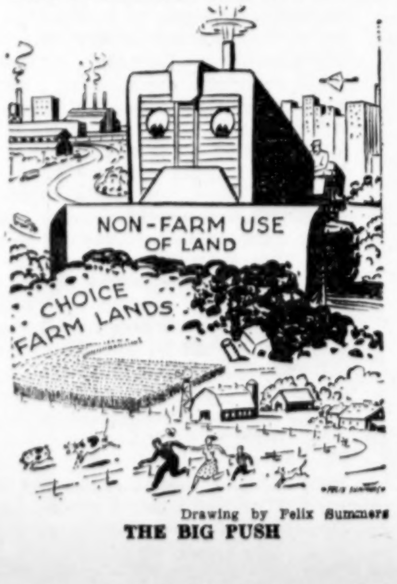
Such arguments, and particularly those of Sir Charles Darwin, have been anticipated and confronted by the British Marxist scientist J. D. Bernal in his two-volume Science in History, *distributed in the U.S. by Liberty Book Club and available currently through the Guardian Buying Service at $6. Following is Bernal's discussion of "The Population Problem." The reference "Pirie (6.115)" in the text refers to section six of the bibliography, item 115, N. W. Pirie's "The Efficient Use of Sunlight for Food Production"—Chemistry and Industry, 1953.*

By J. D. Bernal

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE under the impetus of socialist ideas and practice already points to an enormous extension of civilization—agriculture and industry together—in which the soil will not merely be preserved but indefinitely improved, and the life it supports will be multiplied. In the light of this knowledge and experience, all the talk of the danger of overpopulation appears all the more clearly as reactionary nonsense.

This revival of Malthus in twentieth-century form is based itself on undeniable facts drawn from capitalist countries or their dependent empires. As such, it merely shows the fundamental failure of capitalism at the elementary job of keeping people alive. But—as the real operators of capitalism think but do not find it prudent to say—that was never their function. If it does not pay to keep people alive—well, then, let them die.

"No milk for Hottentots" was one of the slogans of the Republican opponents of President Roosevelt in 1936. It has been modified, now that they are in power, to "Guns for anti-Communists only." What is a more humane way of achieving the same result, as well as causing far less fuss, is to prevent children being born! Such ideas, widely disseminated under the cover of science, provide reasons for contempt of uncivilized races who breed like rabbits, and justify in advance the idea of controlling them as undesirable pests who inconvenience the inhabitants of God's own country.



Drawing by Felix Summers
THE BIG PUSH

THE INFECTION of neo-Malthusianism has spread far into official science in Britain and America. In 1952 Professor A. V. Hill raised the whole question in his Presidential Address to the British Association as "The Ethical Dilemma of the Scientist." Here it is no longer a question of confining population control to contraception. The old divine agent of plague is invoked to ensure that too many inferior people are not left alive to die of slow starvation and upset their betters in their struggle for food. If men breed like rabbits, they must be allowed to die like rabbits:

"But suppose it were certain now that the pressure of increasing population, uncontrolled by disease, would lead not only to widespread exhaustion of the soil and of other capital resources, but also to continuing and increasing inter-nation tension and disorder, making it hard for civilization itself to survive: would the majority of humane and reasonable people then change their minds? If ethical principles deny our right to do evil in order that good may come, are we justified in doing good when the foreseeable consequence is evil?"

The whole of the work of medical science is to be thrown away rather than face the full implication of economic freedom for "backward" peoples. The sanctity of human life, one of the highest professions of Western civilizations, is discarded in the over-riding cause of the protection of private property.

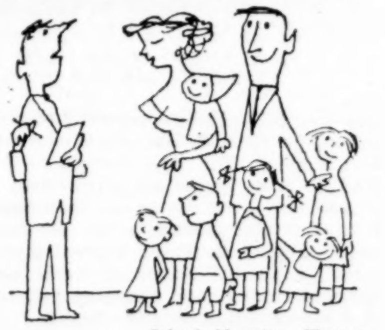
IT SHOULD BE CLEAR by now that there is no possibility of raising the standard of living of the peasants of backward countries without a complete break with the old landlord or plantation system or even with a nominally free peasantry shackled to foreign companies. The fate of Malaya, the Philippines, and the banana republics of South America show this well enough. Real economic independence must be based on a growing industrialization, needed to use off-season labor and to provide the necessary equipment for a scientific agriculture.

It is the complete incapacity to envisage any other state of affairs, combined with a, usually unacknowledged, distaste at finding so many lesser breeds challenging his privileges, that drives the cultured English and American scientist to support the policy of population limitation.

Sir Charles Galton Darwin has now brought the family full circle back to parson Malthus. In his book **The Next Million Years** he envisages nothing good for the human race. Indeed he thinks the Edwardian period, of all times, was the world's last golden age.

Of what is known and what has already been done to use science for the elementary task of providing people with food there is little trace in his or any neo-Malthusian book. Yet this represents only the merest beginning of what applied biology might do. The increase of world population is in itself not catastrophic; it is running at between 1 and 1½ per cent per annum, and with a high standard of living the rate is likely to be lower. The most that is required, therefore, for a rising food consumption is an average increase at a slightly higher rate. A 2 per cent per annum increase is well within the bounds achievable with present techniques. The application of new research will be essential only at later stages when there is a serious shortage of available land.

THIS IS AT PRESENT very far from being the case. The FAO estimates that of the 33 billion acres of the earth's land surface only 3 billion, or less than 10 per cent, is cultivated. Much of the remainder could be brought under cultivation, particularly in the equatorial areas, by a limited amount of real capital in the way that is already being done in the U.S.S.R. and China.



Poland Magazine, Warsaw
"And what is your hobby?"

A conservative estimate by the geographer L. D. Stamp indicates that some 10 billion people, or more than four times the present population of the world, could be maintained with present techniques at an adequate nutritional standard. That, with the present rate of increase, should see us well past the year 2100, and by that time people will be in a far better position than they are now to know how they want to solve the food and population problem. If they decide to go on increasing there will still be plenty of land for more scientifically directed exploitation, more especially in the desert belt, and the seas have only begun to be exploited.

There is also a factor of between five and ten times to be picked up in more intense utilization of the land already cultivated. The present average yields are less than a third of the maximal, which are still very low; they could certainly be raised by biological research to far higher levels. Of the actual vegetable matter grown with such trouble, about four-fifths is burnt or ploughed in. It is by no means necessary that this should be so. The rich proteins produced in green grasses can, for instance, as Pirie has shown, (6.115) be extracted by pressing, and used for animal and at a pinch for human consumption, while the remaining cellulose is good cattle fodder. In this way, from the same meadow, a farmer could get bacon and eggs to supplement his beef, milk, and butter. Even greater possibilities are furnished by the use of yeasts and fungi to produce food from waste vegetable materials, or of algae for controlled photosynthesis.

IT IS ACADEMIC to dispute exactly how much food could be raised by scientific methods, for the methods themselves will grow and change in proportion as they are used. All this could be done by the use of conventional sources of energy. Now that nuclear-fission energy has been produced and even greater amounts from nuclear fusion may be reasonably expected, the long-term prospects of food production are practically unlimited. As long as conventional agriculture is being used, atomic energy can provide the necessary water and heat, but as the population rises to a thousand or more times its present figure, other or more direct methods can be invoked and will certainly be forthcoming, including atomic transmutation if necessary. The ghost of Malthus is well and truly laid.

None of this, however, can carry comfort for those who at this present moment have not enough to eat. The real difficulties are here not the scientific and technical ones. It is rather the achievement of the social and economic conditions that would make science applicable. If the grip of imperialism could once be shaken and the diversion of technical resources to war preparation were stopped there would be ample resources for the mechanical and chemical capital necessary to transform agriculture within a decade, together with ample funds for scientific research and development. The unused capacity of the United States motor industry could provide enough tractors to China in one year to increase grain production by 50 per cent. In 1951, it was estimated by a group of experts appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations that an annual investment of $19 billion would be sufficient to raise the standard of living of under-developed countries by 2 per cent per annum. The factor for safe advance is about 6 per cent. However, as today something of the order of $100 billion is directly or indirectly spent on war preparations, such an increase is therefore immediately feasible.

War, however, still remains the most profitable investment, and neo-Malthusians would be advised to attend more seriously to that curse of humanity. If they could stop it, they would no longer have any need to invoke pestilence and famine to trim humanity to their genteel standards.

ANNE BRADEN ON 'THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION IN THE WORLD TODAY'

The crisis in race relations in the United States a

A TURNING POINT CAME ON MAY 17, 1954, IN WASHINGTON
It was the day that paternalism met head on with democracy

The following is a condensation of an article entitled "Race Relations in the United States" which first appeared in the Race Relations Journal *of the South African Institute of Race Relations (Vol. XXVI, No. 2). The publication has a worldwide circulation. Anne Braden is field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund; she is also the author of* The Wall Between.

By Anne Braden

RECENTLY I TALKED with a young white newspaper editor in a small town in Mississippi. A remark by him summarizes the tremendous revolution taking place in race relations in the Southern United States.

He is a decent sort of person, eaten inwardly by the guilt that plagues all decent white Mississippians who must daily face the contrast between the world of which they are a part and the ideals of the religious teachings they profess and of the democratic heritage they claim. Of all the states in the Southern U.S.A., Mississippi is perhaps the most tightly segregated, resisting longest the winds of change sweeping the South.

I mentioned to this editor the need to establish better lines of communication between the races in the South: the need for white people to listen and understand the aspirations of the Negro people.

"You are right," he agreed. "It's a terrible thing the way the communications have broken down. We need to get together and talk. But it's hard . . ."

He sat silent for a moment, looking out of his office window. Outside was a typical street scene in a typical small Southern town: groups of whites and groups of Negroes walking along, so close physically that they often touched each other's arms but each so ignorant of the other's heart and mind that they might as well have been on opposite sides of the world.

"You see," he went on, "times have changed. It used to be we could talk, the white and colored. You take————," and he mentioned a recognized Negro leader in that part of Mississippi.

"Why, I've known him since he was in high school. Always liked him. But it used to be when you talked to him, you were just talking to him. Now, when you talk to him, you are talking to the whole NAACP from New York on down . . . It makes a big diference."

BUT ACTUALLY my editor friend, perhaps unconsciously, was referring to much more than the NAACP. What he was really saying, although he obviously had not thought it through, was that the Negro he had known from his youth had suddenly acquired a new status, and that now when he spoke with him he must speak to an equal.

So far as the editor could see, this changed and disturbing state of affairs had come about simply because the Negro now had behind him a powerful organization, the NAACP. But this is only part of the story. The new strength of the NAACP is far more an effect than a cause. The cause lies in the intermingling of several factors: a new determination among Southern Negroes themselves, impinging forces of world and national opinion, and changing patterns that are revolutionizing the South.

SO THEY BLAMED THE NAACP AND THE NEGRO LEADERSHIP
Men like (l. to r.) the Rev. Martin Luther King, labor's A. Philip Randolph, the Urban League's Lester B. Granger and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP.

But the upshot of it all is that when the Southern white man looks today at the Negroes around him, he sees men, women, and children who can no longer be relegated to a place of inferiority. Southern Negroes have made up their minds that they will no longer accept less than first-class citizenship; they will no longer take crumbs; they will no longer beg; they ask and demand what they are convinced is rightly theirs as human beings and as citizens of the United States. They make their demands with an amazing lack of bitterness, without violence, and with reasonableness But they are firm and they are determined. They see themselves as equals to any man, and so the white man must see them that way too.

IT IS A JARRING experience for the average white. For the central fact of Southern race relations in the past has been the pattern of paternalism.

Here is the crux of the revolution going on in the South—the revolution my Mississippi editor felt creeping in upon this once-ordered and peaceful world. We hear much talk today about how race relations have become worse in the South since the momentous Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, declaring segregated schools illegal. This comment is often made by well-meaning people who see only the tension that followed the decision and not the underlying cause of it. The best answer and explanation I've heard came from a Southern white man, who said:

"Yes, race relations have gotten worse in the South since 1954—if you think paternalism is better than democracy."

Professional white Southerners, defenders of the old ways, go to great lengths to insist that the white South from the days of slavery to the present was never cruel to its Negro population. This is not entirely true, because wherever society separates and places one group of people in a lower status there are repeated instances of some members of the group becoming victims of both physical and psychological cruelty.

But it is undoubtedly a fact that many a white Southerner has lived out his life without ever being consciously cruel to a Negro. Not "cruel" as the word is usually understood. The cruelty that every white Southerner inflicted, and in a way perhaps the greatest cruelty of all, was the cruelty of paternalism. This was the pattern of Southern life. It debilitated the white Southerners perhaps more than it hurt the Negroes. For it led even the kindest of them to treat another group of human beings at worst as pet dogs and at best as children.

THIS IS THE DESTRUCTIVE pattern from which the present crisis in the South is forcing the white man to break loose. The process involves not only a revolution in his social patterns and his way of living. It involves a deep uprooting of his ways of thinking and feeling. The revolution in the South is inner as well as outer.

It is obvious that such a change cannot take place without pain and turmoil. Occasionally this turmoil breaks into open conflict, as we see in Little Rock. In its less flamboyant form, it is transpiring daily in the inner struggle of thousands of white men and women in every city and crossroads in the U.S.A. Some of its manifestations are not pretty and some are temporarily destructive.

But anyone who has talked much with white Southerners in this period of grappling and groping cannot fail to come to the conclusion that in the long range the present turmoil will be seen as growing pains. The Southern Negro is doing more than forcing open doors to his own rights; he is forcing the Southern white man to take an honest look at himself and his relations with his fellowman. And I believe that out of the turmoil will come freedom not only for the Negro but for the Southern white people, who in segregating the Negro, built prisons around themselves.

Actually, the pattern of Southern paternalism has long been under strain from several conflicting forces. The 1954 Supreme Court decision in the School Segregation Cases served to intensify and speed the process.

In attempting to understand Southern race relations, it is necessary to keep in mind that it is really a fallacy to speak of "the South." There is no one South; there are many Souths. The mountain areas of Tennessee and Kentucky are very different, not only in terrain but in attitudes from the Tidelands of Virginia. Even within a single state there are great differences: Atlanta is a far cry from rural Georgia in its race relations as well as many other ways.

IN RECENT YEARS, the rabid segregationists have shouted the loudest and of course they have always presumed to speak for "the South." It goes without saying that they do not include the one-fourth of the population that is Negro when they say they speak for the region, so one must conclude that they presume to speak for the white South. But even in this they are either fooling themselevs or trying to fool the rest of the world. For neither is there any solid white South—and there never has been.

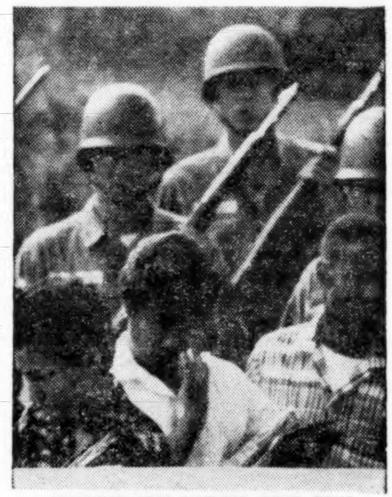
The common denominator that unites all the divergent elements in the immensely varied South is not basically an attitude on race relations, but poverty. The South has long been the poorest section of the United States. The soil there, with the exception of a few areas, is poor; the region was devastated by the Civil War; industrialization was late in coming; per capita income has traditionally been the lowest in the nation; disease and malnutrition have historically been widespread; education standards have been lowest, living conditions the worst.

It is a simple psychological fact that people living under these economic and social conditions look for and need an "out-group" to which they can feel superior. The Negro was made to order. The badge of white skin came to be

and hope for the future

the one thing that impoverished white Southerners had to hold onto—and temporarily it made up for everything, for empty stomachs and malnourished children and ignorance. Thus, great numbers of whites adopted not a hatred toward Negroes, but the paternalistic attitude that gave them their one claim to a feeling of worth and significance in the world.

The politicians played on this to a fare-thee-well. The one-party system had been devised to disfranchise the Negro, but also made for much inefficiency, sometimes corruption, and at best mediocrity in government. The political demagogues of the early 20th Century found that if they pitched their campaign speeches on the challenge to preserve the glories of pure white womanhood, few people noticed that they said nothing about a program to combat hunger in the South.


EDUCATION UNDER THE GUN
This was Little Rock High School

SUCH A COUNTERFEIT state of affairs could not, of course, last. It was undermined from the beginning by several dynamic forces, which have grown stronger down to the present day. These forces are interrelated and interdependent, so it is difficult to say which caused which, but they are worth while listing sepaartely:

- First and foremost in importance, if not in point of time, has been the growing restlessness of the Negroes themselves. This process has been speeded by industrialization and world movements against colonialism, but it would probably have happened somehow under any circumstances. Oppressed people inevitably rebel eventually; you can push people down just so long, and then they tire of it.

The outstanding fact in our South today is that the Negroes are no longer afraid. A great vision grips these people. The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., who led the Montgomery bus protest, speaks often of "a great black people that arose to save America for freedom," and this concept seems to have captured the imagination of great numbers of Southern Negroes. They see themselves—and rightly—as the new torchbearers and front-line fighters for the ideals of freedom and human dignity on which the United States was founded. Such a vision can sustain people through great difficulty, and probably makes them invincible.

- Although late, the South is finally changing from an agrarian to an industrial economy. This means people are moving from the farms to the cities. It's a process that has been going on gradually for several decades but has been immensely speeded since World War II. And with industrialization and city life, people become exposed to new ideas. Provincialism weakens; educational standards rise; communication increases with the outside world where new thoughts flow. This is an important factor in the Negroes' new outlook; it has also brought new horizons to whites.

- The world movement of colored people to throw off white domination has had resounding repercussions in this country. Negro Southerners are very much aware of this world trend; they identify themselves with it. The whites are also conscious of it, and their most far-sighted spokesmen know that the United States cannot continue to deny equality to its Negro citizens in a world where colored people far outnumber whites.

- Within the white South, opposition to segregation has been steadily rising. The germs of opposition have always been there, rooted in the white opposition to slavery over 100 years ago. Basically, this opposition is moral, for the white Southerner has always had to measure his society against a Declaration of Independence which states unequivocally that "all men are created equal" and against religious standards that uphold the brotherhood of man and the dignity of each human being. This measuring process has produced among white Southerners a mass guilt complex, much rationalization, and deep misery.

But it has also produced in every generation at least some people who were able to face facts with clear eyes and take a stand for justice. . . . This falling away of the younger generation is verified by the fears of the older segregationists themselves. As one of their number in Alabama told me recently: "The young people just don't understand the importance of segregation like we do; all of the people working hardest for the cause (segregation) are over 50; I don't know what will happen when we are gone."

- Nationwide, public opinion has been rising against segregation. A Southern politician supporting a policy of accommodation to change recently told his audiences: "We have lost the battle for national public opinion." And he is right.

ALL OF THESE FACTORS have been in operation, to a greater or lesser degree, for several decades. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 did not create them. It would be more accurate to say they produced that decision. The Supreme Court responded partly to world opinion. It also responded to public opinion within the country. The NAACP was already a force to be reckoned with, and predominantly white groups in the North were also speaking out. In the South, too, the pressure had been building up; because the newspapers in the region generally ignored it many people were not aware of it, but the Negroes were already organizing beneath the surface.

IN BIRMINGHAM THEY TOOK A CUE FROM MONTGOMERY
And 13 Negroes were arrested for defying a bus jimcrow law

Interracial groups were active too. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, formed in 1938, and its successor, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, united white and Negro in the South in a joint call for an end to segregation. The Southern Regional Council, while not advocating an immediate end to segregation before 1954, had for years been bringing white and Negro Southerners together on terms of mutual respect to work for a better South. Some church groups, especially among the women, were active in the field.

What the Supreme Court action of 1954 did was to speed the change by putting the force of the Federal government theoretically behind integration. In the succeeding years, this force has sometimes been more theoretical than real: President Eisenhower has consistently refused, by default, to throw his moral weight behind the correctness of the decision. The legislative branch of the government, as represented by Congress, is still largely dominated by high-ranking Southern politicians who block effective civil rights legislation and send investigating committees to the South to label integrationists as "subversive" and "seditious."

And while the Justice Department files a few suits to enforce civil rights in the South, agents of its Federal Bureau of Investigation continue to question the "loyalty" of white citizens who associate with Negroes by using such association as a touchstone of "subversive activity." And Negroes in Mississippi report that complaints to the FBI on denial of voting rights often reach the ears of hostile local police immediately. But despite all this schizophrenic behavior by the Federal government, the fact remains that the "law of the land" is now on the side of integration, and the psychological effect of this fact has been tremendous.

SOMETIMES, LORD, IT GETS TO BE JUST TOO MUCH
The white boy tried to push John Gray and his sister off the walk

THUS, IN THE WAKE of the 1954 decision, we saw a falling away of the Border States and of some known as the Upper South; within a short time the District of Columbia and seven of the original 17 states comprising "the South" had made an appreciable start toward school integration, and as a corollary integration in several other aspects of life. Since then five others have at least made a start. This does not mean that integration is complete in any of these states or that all of the old paternalism is erased. But it does mean that the hold of the old patterns has been broken, and at least part of a new generation is beginning to grow up in a changed atmosphere.

What the 1954 Supreme Court decision also did was to bring the entire question of segregation into sharp public focus. Before this, many guilt-ridden white Southerners had been able to look the other way and pretend the whole situation did not exist. Now, like the Mississippi editor who suddenly realized that the Negro was legally and psychologically his equal, they had to face it—and in facing a new Negro, face their own conscience. The first impulse of many white Southerners in this situation was to run away, figuratively speaking. The hardest thing for any member of an oppressing group to do is to face the fact that the blame for the bad results of this oppression lies with himself.

So they blamed the NAACP, they said the Supreme Court had been subverted by communists, they blamed the North. Some are still doing it. But others, out of the turmoil, have been able to take that painful first step that every white Southerner must sometime take before he can become a whole human being: they have faced the fact that the fault lies within them. And having taken that all-important inner step, they are able then to take the outer steps; to take a public stand, to defy convention and the wrath of their neighbors and take their place beside the Negro in the struggle for a united human race. . . .

It is the Southern Negro himself who provides the hope that a real democracy will develop in the Southern United States; it is the scattered Southern whites who have faced the issue squarely who provide the hope that the Negro will not fight the battle alone.

Together, they provide the hope that the U.S.A., out of its present crisis in race relations, will contribute creatively to the most important question in the world today; whether the white and colored peoples of this planet will find a way to live together in harmony and in union.

BOOKS

One Brooklyn girl

IN RECENT YEARS a controversy on the role of the Negro creative writer has enlivened the literary scene. With the advent of the celebrated Supreme Court decisions and of token integration, some critics have argued that the Negro "protest" novel is a derivative of conditions which have passed and therefore anachronistic. "Protest" writing, they contend, limits the Negro writer's choice of theme and constricts his style to the narrow, though exacting, demands of special pleading.

Under the prodding of this criticism, some Negro authors have sought (and found) markets for stories on general (that is, non-Negro) themes, and others have portrayed their Negro characters as dusky but pale imitations of white prototypes.

A steadily growing school of younger writers, however, has seized on their slightly improved opportunities, not to exclude protest, but to root it more firmly in art. They write with a refreshing self-assurance, stimulated by the knowledge that their people's story is worth telling in itself; that it is as significant a segment of human experience as any other; and that if it is well told it may be widely read.

PAULE MARSHALL, whose first novel* has won general critical acclaim, would seem to be such a writer. Miss Marshall writes from the inside of the lives of a West Indian Negro family set down in a Brooklyn brownstone dwelling, a few thousand miles removed from the lush environment and lusty living of their poverty-stricken beginnings on the island of Barbadoes, and a stone's throw from the noisome squalor and vice of El-shrouded Fulton street.

They have taken over their brownstone, as have other Barbadians in the neighborhood, from retreating whites—the Dutch and Scotch Irish families whose lives, we are led to believe, were as elegant and sedate as the stately buildings themselves. But Miss Marshall's people are not pale imitations of anybody. They are, to borrow from the Latin, **sui generis**—in a class by themselves—and quite a class of folk they are.

Deighton Boyce has as great a flair for life, and as much personal appeal and ingratiating wit as any non-providing head of a family seen about in recent literature. "Money does talk sweet enough in this man's country," he says, but his whole tendency is to spend it, not get it. Silla, his wife, suffers the burden of his shiftlessness and his sportive impulses with a strange mixture of resignation and revolt. And their two second-generation girls (Ina, verging on adolescence, and Selina, a 10-year-old string bean of a rebel) grow into Americans of a special kind, moulded by the fierce pride and driving ambition of the Barbadians, the struggle within the household, the gratuitous lessons of the surrounding streets and eventually the contact at school and work with the "outside" white world.

MISS MARSHALL is a picture writer. With a deft hand unusual among first novelists, she frames moving pictures, now brilliant-bright and violent, again soft, mellow and compassionate, but always strikingly visual. The chapter which describes Deighton returning to the kitchen laden down with gifts for the children, a bright red coat for Silla and a trumpet for himself—all bought with the $900-odd dollars his wife intended to use as a down payment on the house they are leasing—is a memorable piece of writing. There are others to match it.

Miss Marshall is expert in conveying the Barbadians' speech—an utterance which transforms vowels into diphthongs, prefers poetic imagery to prosy platitudes, and improves the florid British elocution from which it derives with an incisive African sensuality.

PAULE MARSHALL
A new and vigorous talent

The only unfortunate thing about **Brown Girl, Brownstones** is its title. That must have been the bad invention of the publisher's promotion man. Miss Marshall herself is admirable and her first novel leads us to hope she will soon return with another.

—**Louis E. Burnham**

**BROWN GIRL, BROWNSTONES, by Paule Marshall. Random House, 457 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y. 310 pp. $3.95.*

Preview of Suhl musical in Brooklyn December 13

NEW YORKERS can see a preview of a new musical Sunday, Dec. 13 at 2 p.m. at the Brooklyn Academy of Music when the magazine **Jewish Currents** sponsors a concert presentation of **One Foot in America,** based on the novel of that name and another, **Cowboy on a Wooden Horse,** by Yuri Suhl, on Jewish life in New York. Music is by Earl Robinson (**Ballad for Americans, Sandhog**); lyrics by Lewis Allan (**Strange Fruit, The House I Live In, Good Soldier Schweik.**) The preview audience will also hear readings in English by Morris Carnovsky from the works of Sholem Aleichem. Tickets range from $1.65 to $5 at **Jewish Currents,** 22 E. 17th St., or Jefferson Book Shop, 100 E. 16th St.

Another world under the city

YOUNG AND OLD—at any rate New York teen-agers and their old men—will have to battle it out for this book,* which is a most interesting, exciting and exhaustively-researched story of the thousands of miles of subway and vehicular tunnels, water and gas mains, sewers, steam lines, power and telephone conduits and now TV cables, that underlie the teeming city of New York.

The first were probably the wooden water pipes of Aaron Burr's Manhattan Co., which used the water-supply business as a front behind which to organize the Bank of the Manhattan Co. to compete with Alexander Hamilton's Bank of New York. (Both banks are still in business, Hamilton's under the same old name, Burr's as the Rockefeller Chase-Manhattan. Burr's water was putrid, but was the city's sole main source until a series of epidemics compelled construction of a Croton reservoir and the first of the huge aqueduct tunnels now supplying the city.)

Under the city now are 5,528 miles of water mains, 5,000 miles of sewers, 7,000 miles of gas mains, subway tunnels laid with 726 miles of track over which 8,700 trains a day run, 87 miles of high pressure steam pipes, and conduits containing 19,000 miles of electrical cables, 2,200 miles of TV cables, and 15,000,000 miles of telephone wires. Also, there are some abandoned tunnels, one under Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, and another under Broadway at Murray St., (where the GUARDIAN office used to be) which are undying legends in what O. Henry used to call Baghdad-on-the-Subway. These legends, the stories of sandhog heroism immortalized by Theodore Dreiser and later by the Earl Robinson-Waldo Salt musical, tall stories of life in the sewers (alligators, for example), and rat control under Park Avenue, are all breezily told in Mr. Daley's tale.

—**John T. McManus**

**THE WORLD BENEATH THE CITY, by Robert Daley. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 223 pp. $3.95.*

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

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N. Y. Forum Dec. 11 on Bloch's music

THE MUSIC of Ernest Bloch, who died July 15, 1959, will be discussed and played by Sidney Finkelstein, author of "How Music Expresses Ideas," at The Faculty of Social Science, 80 E. 11th St. on Friday, Dec. 11, at 8:30 p.m. This is the fifth in the Faculty's current Fall series of Friday Forums, dealing with cultural and political topics of current interest. Admission to each forum is $1.

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RESORTS

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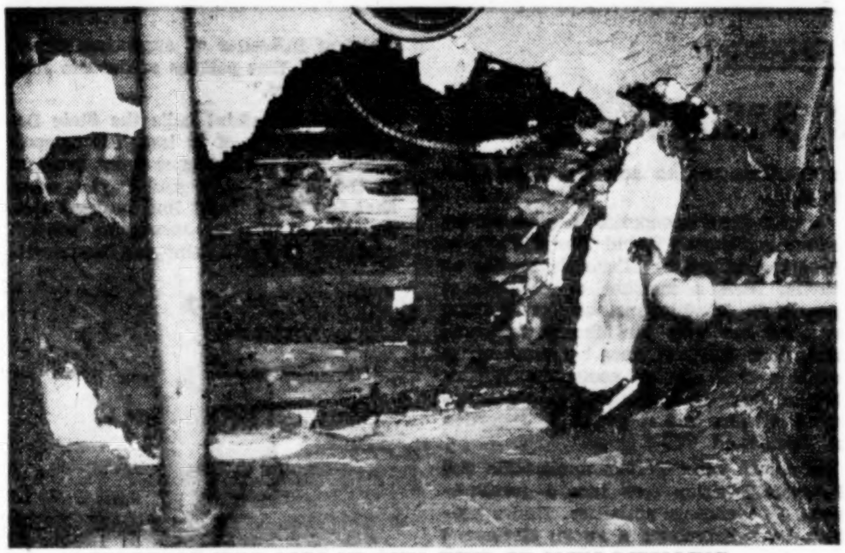
The city's shame

(Continued from Page 1)



A REPORTER WHO DIGS UP THIS KIND OF SLUM DWELLING . . .
. . . is not a popular man with the administration of New York City

27,000 over its usual press run. When these sold out, they printed 10,000 more. The issue drew much comment from readers and from civic leaders; it was the subject of radio and television shows.

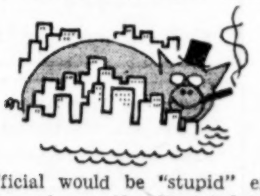
But from City Hall there was silence—except for back-alley sneers and smears. On Nov. 16, however, an Assistant District Attorney, Jerome Kidder, said at a public meeting discussing the article that "some people will write anything for money." Kidder, of course, knows that no writer ever got rich writing for the **Nation**, a liberal publication whose contributors have traditionally preferred the prestige of its pages to pelf. The remark was known to have angered Cook: it was not the first of its kind.

OPEN END: On the night of Nov. 22, the article got its first full airing on the WNTA-TV program "Open End," presided over by David Susskind. Among the guests were Cook and Gleason, James Wechsler, editor of the New York **Post**, whose paper has done similar muckraking of the city administration, and Warren Moscow, a former New York **Times** political reporter and now executive assistant to Mayor Wagner (somebody from the city administration had to go, Moscow admitted ruefully, and he was tagged).

The program proceeded with Moscow doing a skillful if cynical job of brazening his way through indisputable evidence of graft and corruption in the workings of the city government. The give-and-take was heavy but reasonably polite until late in the discussion when the bombshell exploded.

Cook revealed for the first time that in 1956, during a Title I investigation, Gleason had come back to the ofifce (he was the writer, Gleason the reporter) with the story that a "high city official" had offered both a way to make extra money (by putting their wives on the city payroll, for example) if they would lay off. Cook said he wouldn't touch the offer with a ten-foot pole. Asked if he had gone to the District Attorney, Cook said no; but we "proceeded to beat their brains out for 2½ years." He did tell his city editor, he said.

THE D.A. STEPS IN: When Cook finished Moscow said he didn't think any city official would be "stupid" enough to make such an offer. He tried to substitute a word for "stupid" when he realized how it sounded.



Next morning the report was that Mayor Wagner had ordered an investigation by New York County District Attorney Frank Hogan. The **World-Telegram** had no comment. At noon, Cook and Gleason, accompanied by **World-Telegram** lawyers, went to Hogan's office. A four-hour session followed.

At 5 p.m. a silent and troubled Gleason emerged. A few moments later Hogan called the press in and said Gleason had lied when he reported the bribe offer. Hogan released a part of the Q. and A. of the purported exchange between Gleason and his questioners which amounted to a series of sharp questions and confused and sometimes incoherent answers. Hogan said Gleason had signed a six-page statement admitting that the charge was "made out of whole cloth because I was exuberant and carried away." The "whole cloth" was in a question, not in Gleason's answer. But it was clear that Gleason was changing his story.

TWO JOBS LOST: Said Hogan: "He used the name of a high and respected public official. It was a damnable outrage, and it would be most unfair to make it public." Hogan also said Cook had retracted his TV statement that he had disclosed the bribe offer to his city editor. Cook was cleared of any previous knowledge that Gleason had "lied."

The next day both reporters were fired by the **World-Telegram** without consultation. In the newspaper's statement was this sentence: "On the broadcast Mr. Cook stated that he had told his city desk of the alleged bribe offer. This statement was categorically denied by the **World-Telegram.**"

Cook insisted that he had notified his city desk, despite the District Attorney's statement, and despite the fact that the city editor "did not now 'remember.'" He said he had never retracted his statement during the D.A.'s inquiry. On Nov. 25, one day later, Norton Mockridge, **World-Telegram** city editor, experienced a return of memory. He said:

"I clearly recall having lunch with Mr. Cook late in the fall of 1956. At that time Mr. Cook spoke of pressures which he and Mr. Gleason had experienced. . . . These, he said, were in the form of job offers and favors proferred by one or more press agents who were close to City Hall. . . . At no time did [either] tell me that they had been offered a bribe by any city or state official . . ."

IN ERROR: In the New York **Times** of Nov. 26, buried at the bottom of a story on the affair in an inside page, was this statement: "Yesterday the New York **Times** erroneously reported that Mr. Gleason had signed his statement admitting the falseness of the bribe charge to the District Attorney." No other paper even bothered to print this new revision of a claim made by the D.A.

During the week it was disclosed that the matter of the alleged bribe had been discussed with Susskind before the TV program had gone on view, and that it had been suggested that a question about the offer be posed during the program. Cook, it was said, was angry over the smears against him emanating from City Hall and was in a fighting mood.

THE NATION COMMENTS: At the **Nation**, editor Carey McWilliams said that the charge of a bribe "formed no part of 'The Shame of New York.' New Yorkers are much too shrewd to permit a post-publication incident of this kind to divert their attention from the critically important civic issues raised" in the article.

In a lead article in its Dec. 5 issue, the **Nation** said:

"That 'The Shame of New York' would be a target for attack we never doubted. No feature article of this kind—whether it examines the exalted myth of the FBI or the fallibility of Robert Moses—is likely to remain immune . . .

"We have of course checked into the background of the incident and have questioned Messrs. Cook and Gleason about what took place in the bizarre session in the office of the District Attorney when both men . . . were subjected to a lengthy grilling. Frankly, we were and are disturbed by the accounts of Mr. Gleason's statement as released by the District Attorney's office.

"There is no doubt that somewhere along the line Gleason told an untruth; but it is by no means clear whether the sudden and unexplained retraction is more to be believed than the original accusation.

CONFIDENCE IN COOK: "As for Fred Cook . . . our confidence in him remains unimpaired. . . . We are convinced that the level of the working press in New York would be measurably raised if it were manned throughout by men of his courage, intelligence, integrity and sense of social responsibility. . . . Future developments, we feel, may well place the Gleason matter in quite a different light than the lurid one in which it was first reported.

"What happened to Fred Cook should stand as a horrible example of what is likely to happen to any reporter who insists on pursuing stories of great civic importance about which his city desk is not too enthusiastic.

"The facts set forth in 'The Shame of New York' remain to be challenged or acknowledged. No request has come to this office, although copies have been out for four weeks, for any corrections or retractions. The citizens of New York still want to know, Messrs. Wagner, Hogan and Moses, why a city of 8,000,000 people and 9,000,000 rats has 'lost its soul.'"

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS: Many troubling questions remained which, when answered, may indeed place the matter "in quite a different light." For example:

- Why would two veteran newspapermen, knowing full well the consequences of a false charge, level the bribe charge on a popular TV program and even name the alleged bribemaker to the District Attorney?
- Why did the **World-Telegram** deny and then concede that Cook had indeed conferred with his city editor about the "offers" back in 1956? Or is an "offer" something else than a "bribe?"
- Why did the **World-Telegram** fire Cook and Gleason without even a hearing on the basis of a disputed private session with the District Attorney? (The Newspaper Guild is fighting Cook's dismissal; Gleason, not a Guild member, has asked that no action be taken for him.)
- Did something happen to Gleason between the time he left the TV studio and his appearance before Hogan to cause him to say what he did at the District Attorney's interrogation?

How to get the article

SINGLE COPIES of the special issue of the **Nation** containing the article on "The Shame of New York" are available at 50 cents each from the **Nation**, 333 Sixth Ave., New York 14, N.Y. Ten copies are $4 and 50 copies $7.50.

HOLY MOSES: There are other questions too, but for holy Robert Moses there were none. He said:

"This is just what I expected. Such reporters, editors and publishers are no credit to an otherwise honorable profession. They lie habitually. Eventually they are found out. In the meantime, they do a lot of harm to decent officials, and great disservice to the more gullible readers."

Less sanctimonious, but much less hypocritical too, was the comment by another city official:

"Make no mistake. Every bum on the payroll and every gangster in town is very happy at what happened to Gleason."

ACPFB to hold conference memorial meeting in N. Y.

THE AMERICAN Committee for Protection of Foreign Born will hold its 27th Annual National Conference Saturday and Sunday, Dec. 19 and 20, at the Hotel Belmont Plaza, Lexington Av. and 49th St., New York.

A memorial concert in honor of Abner Green will be held in the hotel's Moderne Room at 8:30 p.m. Saturday, December 19. Registration for the Conference, as well as reservations for the Memorial Concert, are $2 each.

In tribute to Abner Green's quarter century of work on behalf of the Committee, an **Abner Green Memorial Journal** will be distributed at the Conference. **Organizations and individuals are invited to purchase space in the journal to record their tributes. Inquiries should be addressed to the Committee offices at 49 E. 21st St., New York 10, N. Y.**

FACES POSSIBLE LIFE SENTENCE

Dr. Uphaus surrender date Dec. 4

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS, director of the World Fellowship of Faiths, was to be in court in Concord, N.H., on Friday, Dec. 4, to surrender on a charge of contempt. His conviction was upheld in a five to four ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court last June; the Court in October denied a petition for rehearing.

Dr. Uphaus was sentenced in January, 1956, to an indeterminate term for refusing to give to New Hampshire Atty. Gen. Louis C. Wyman the guest list of a vacation camp conducted by the World Fellowship. If Dr. Uphaus persists in his refusal to surrender the names, he can be sent to jail until he "purges" himself. In his case—he is 68—it could mean a life sentence.

Dr. Uphaus, a Christian pacifist, based his original refusal on conscientious grounds and invoked the First Amendment. He told the trial court: "I have been moved first by my religious convictions, my inner conscience, by the direct teachings of the Bible that it is wrong to bear false witness against my brother. Inasmuch as I have no reason to believe that any of these persons whose names have been called for have in any sense hurt this State or our country, I have reason to believe they should not be in possession of the Attorney General."

THE DISSENT: In a dissenting opinion written by Justice Brennan and concurred in by Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black and Douglas, Wyman's investigation was described as having had as its objective "the impermissible one of exposure." It said:

"We deal here with inquiries into the areas of free speech and assembly where the process of compulsory disclosure itself tends to have a repressive effect . . . . Here we must demand some initial showing by the State sufficient to counterbalance the interest of privacy as it relates to freedom of speech and assembly. On any basis that has practical meaning, New Hampshire has not made such a showing here."

The Uphaus case has been supported by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Religious Freedom Committee. **Dr. Uphaus was defended by attorneys Royal W. France and Leonard Boudin of New York City, and Hugh Bownes of Laconia, N.H.**

EVASION OF COURT DECISION CHARGED

Suit filed to force passport grant

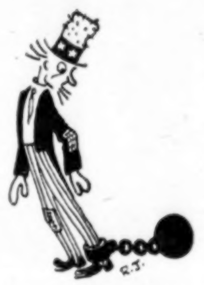
ECONOMIST VICTOR PERLO, critic of U.S. economic and foreign policies and a frequent contributor to the GUARDIAN, is seeking an injunction to force the State Dept. to issue a passport for which he applied last May 4. Perlo's application said he wished to go abroad to collect royalties on foreign editions of his books, to arrange for further foreign publication and to accept lecture invitations.

A New Deal economist in government before and during World War II, Perlo in 1948 was named by Elizabeth Bentley as having been a member of Communist groups in Washington, and as having supplied her with confidential information. Miss Bentley, since being forced to settle a libel suit by economist Willam Taylor, has not reappeared as a government witness and is generally regarded as discredited.

A month after Perlo's application the Passport Division sent him a questionnaire on espionage activities. Under protest, Perlo submitted a sworn statement denying any such activities. In October another inquiry requested all names which Perlo had used or been known by. Again under protest he replied that he had never used any name but his own in employment, voting or government forms, but that some articles of his had been published under the pen name of Louis Fleisher.

EVASION CHARGED: When the requested passport had not been issued by the end of November, Perlo moved for an injunction, stating his belief that "the State Department is using my case as part of its campaign to restore its previously unbridled power to restrict the travel rights of all Americans who do not conform to its policies. The State Department's actions stem from the remaining influence of supporters of the rigid Cold War policies of the late John Foster Dulles."

Perlo's complaint calls the State Department's refusal to issue his passport contrary to the Supreme Court decisions in the Kent, Briehl and Dayton cases, that the Department had no legal basis for withholding passports on political grounds. The complaint said the Department was seeking to evade the Supreme Court decisions by delaying tactics.



POPPER INDICTED: In another case arising from the government's passport policies, New York attorney Martin Popper was indicted on charges of contempt of Congress on Nov. 24. Popper, former secretary of the Natl. Lawyers Guild, invoked the First Amendment in an appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities last June. The committee then was considering legislation to deny passports to members of the Communist Party. Popper contended that the committee lacked jurisdiction on the subject, and refused to answer when asked if he were a member of the CP when he himself applied for a passport.

War and the Mind of Man theme of conference Dec. 11

WAR AND THE MIND of Man will be the theme of a weekend conference arranged by the American Friends Service Committee in Cambridge, Mass., Dec. 11 and 12. Speakers will include Gordon Allport, Professor of Psychiatry at Harvard, Jerome Frank, Professor of Psychiatry at the School of Medicine, Johns Hopkins, and Lewis Mumford, Visiting Professor of Architecture at MIT, and author and critic.

The conference will be held in Stebbins auditorium of the First Parish Unitarian Church, Massachusetts Av. and Church St. in Harvard Square, and will begin at 8 p.m. Friday. The fee is $3, with a special student rate of $1.50. On Saturday lunch and supper will be served. Advance registration is required. A detailed program and information on overnight housing may be obtained by writing the Committee, P.O. Box 247, Cambridge 38, Mass.

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Clark Foreman to speak in the Bronx on Dec. 11

DR. CLARK FOREMAN, Director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, will be guest of honor at a meeting sponsored by the Bronx Committee for Civil Liberties on Friday, Dec. 11, 8 p.m., at Hunts Point Palace, 163rd St. and Southern Blvd., Bronx.

Dr. Foreman spent ten days in Puerto Rico as an observer at the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings where he spoke on radio and television and was interviewed by the local press.

Admission is free.

I Believe . . .

THAT there is a right and a wrong.

THAT the economic, the political, the social and the cultural rights are the Rights of Man; that they are neither separate nor separable; that in their entirety they are essential to the well-being of Man.

THAT without the complete Rights of Man there will never be Peace, Plenty, Security or Freedom from Fear, nor will Man be able to achieve the highest development possible.

THAT the Rights of Man are constantly being violated and that Man may be destroyed.

THAT Man's intellect allows but one course to follow and that is toward the complete elimination of the violation of the Rights of Man.

THAT in the past as well as the present the Rights of Man are subject to be changed, altered or destroyed and are in a constant flux to suit the needs of those in power. Man must destroy the ability to violate the Rights of Man.

THAT the mode of thinking and doing must be changed; Man must seek completeness.

THAT the controversial ghost must be buried; the Rights of Man are not controversial nor ambiguous.

THAT there is and has been a continuing division of Man; that we must forestall the further division of Man.

THAT to bring about the complete Rights of Man there must be a unity of Man.

THAT there is no compromise, no halfway point.

THAT you are either for or against the Rights of Man.

THAT the solutions to the problems of Man are simple, not a complex mess. Man must forgo his personal ego. Man must learn to do things for the benefit of Man. Man must unite; he must not put off the solution for the future. Man must solve the problem immediately, must insure the everlasting survival of Man in Peace and Harmony with the abundance of things that Man and Nature can produce for the welfare of Man.

THAT the solution is simply to eliminate the violations of the Rights of Man, and the adoption of the rule: The *Rights of Man end when Man interferes with the Rights of Man.*

THAT Man should be able to do anything without fear of undue criticism or censure as long as Man does not violate the Rights of Man.

FURTHER:

That I personally am obsessed with the desire for one thing and only one—to bring about the complete Rights of Man, and THEREFORE:

I hereby affirm that I will actively devote the rest of my life to bring into reality the Rights of Man; that I will not violate the Rights of Man.

(Signed) JOSEPH LITTLE

I use the term Man only for the want of a better term. I find it discriminatory.

Those wishing to express an opinion and/or wanting to bring about the complete Rights of Man, please write Box 1, National Guardian, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

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REV. DOUGLAS FRAZIER, Ethical Cultural Society, speaks on **DISARMAMENT**, Fri., Dec. 11, 8:30 p.m. JWV Hall, 11929 Ventura Blvd., No. Hollywood. Don: $1 (youth and unemployed free). Auspcies: Assn. for the Rights of Man.

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Peace and Freedom
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MORRIS U. SCHAPPES, editor of "Jewish Currents" discusses **Exodus** by Leon Uris, Fri., Dec. 11, 8:30 p.m. Beacon Hotel, Silver Rm., B'way & 75th St. Questions & Discussion. Ausp: West Side Community Club. Admission free.

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WILLIAM A. PRICE, coordinator of the Committee of First Amendment Defendants and former executive secy. of United Independent-Socialist Committee, discusses "Independent Political Action and Defense of the First Amendment." Discussion period. Fri., Dec. 4, 8 p.m. Contrib. 50c. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place.

FILM exposing the role of German General Staff Member in international politics. **Fri., Dec. 11, 8:30 p.m.**, Polonia Club, 201 2nd Av. (bet. 12 & 13 Sts.) Cont. $1. Ausp: German American, Inc.

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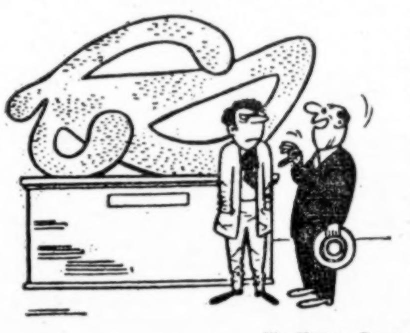
THE GALLERY

A COMMITTEE OF 14 faculty members and one student at the University of Toronto initiated a petition on nuclear disarmament last month. University president C. T. Bissell and 43 other faculty members agreed to sponsor the petition which was mailed to every faculty member and is being circulated by volunteers among the 13,000-member student body. As a first step toward total disarmament, the petition calls on the "government of Canada to press in the councils of the world, for an immediate and permanent end to the testing and production of nuclear weapons, and for measures to prevent the spread of such weapons to countries that do not have them." . . . New York lawyer Woodrow J. Sandler told a conference sponsored by the University of Maryland's College of Business and Public Administration and the Natl. Office Management Assn. that the best defense for management against a union organizing drive is good pay and working conditions. This sage advice was the high point of his three-hour lecture on "legitimate ways to resist a union drive." . . . A survey sponsored by **Redbook** magazine concluded that people with college educations have higher resistance to the power of advertising suggestion than persons with less schooling. Also, college graduates are more likely to return a product they are dissatisfied with than a consumer with only a high school diploma. The same survey said that only 2% of the country's television viewers believe that they would enjoy TV more if commercials were eliminated. The study was conducted by the Gallup Organization, Inc. . . . Dr. Paul H. Jeserich, president-elect of the American Dental Assn., says that despite "reckless claims" in toothpaste ads, no dentifrice has ever been demonstrated to be of significant value in preventing dental disease.

WHEN A MONTANA BLIZZARD caused three Air Force jet fighters to crash last month near Great Falls, two of the airmen managed to parachute to safety. But on nearing the ground they could see no light and landed in a field. Shortly, the parachutists were surrounded by members of a nearby religious colony called Hutterites. When the airmen identified themselves they were escorted to shelter. The Hutterites later explained that when the planes circled overhead and they saw two men parachute, they assumed the Russians were invading and blacked out the colony . . . Australian Dr. Phillip Lai said that men troubled with nagging wives, impossible marriages and fatigue from "keeping up with the Joneses" are the most common volunteers to live in the Antarctic. He added that those happiest in the frozen wastes are men who were unable to adjust to modern society and who find comfort in the classless society and lack of concern for social status in the Antarctic . . . Circuit Judge John Kelly in Knoxville, Tenn., ruled that "wearing of high heels is not willful misconduct" in a case where an employer claimed he was not liable under the workmen's compensation law for a fall by a woman employe wearing two-inch heels . . . . London Constable Norman Biblo on a goodwill visit to New York said: "I think I speak for all my colleagues when I say we don't want to be armed." He added that if English bobbies carried revolvers, "every petty little crook will start carrying a gun. People will get hurt." He said that in 24 years on the force he has never had to use his club.



Vie Nuove, Rome

"Look, won't you introduce me to your model? I'd like to offer her a job in my circus."

AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN may have thought they were spreading the holiday spirit when they sold 600 tons of turkeys and chickens to the United Arab Republic, but Egyptian housewives thought they were getting the bird. The American fowl, it seems, were frozen and cellophane-wrapped. For best results they needed only to be put in the oven for a couple of hours. But Egyptians are used to boiling their birds for some hours before roasting. When this method was applied to the American birds, turkeys shrunk to chicken-size and chickens shriveled to the girth of sparrows. And the taste! And those prices! But American Embassy officials in Cairo leaped in to avert a diplomatic crisis. It was all an honest mistake, they explained. And they announced that they were launching "an intensive re-education campaign" among Egyptian housewives . . . Two weeks before Thanksgiving an upstairs jewelry in El Cajon Calif., displayed a sign: "After Xmas Sale Now!" . . . The Rev. Raimondo Spiazzi of the Pontificial Lateran Athenum in Rome said that if "intelligent beings" exist on the moon, "the Church's universal laws would naturally apply to them." —**Robert E. Light**

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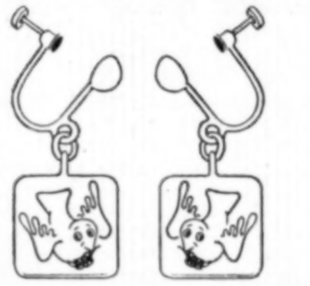
FROM THE DATE OF THIS ISSUE there are only 16 shopping days left till Christmas—but a whole week or more can be used up in getting your orders to you in the heavy Christmas mail. If you plan to take advantage of some of the extraordinary GBS Holiday bargains, you'd be wise to let us have your order now and insure delivery by Christmas. Look over the special 4-page GBS Holiday Shopping Guide (GUARDIAN, Nov. 30 issue). There's a wonderful item for every member of the family. Here are just a few.

GUARDIAN Peace Dove Jewelry!



A unique and charming series of gifts—the hopeful little Guardian Peace Dove, cast into a stunning line of earrings, tie-tacks, cuff links, a pendant and a pin! This lovely jewelry is made to the Guardian's own design, handcrafted for us by a noted New York silversmith. Each pin is in oxydized sterling silver with sturdy clasps, and satin (burnished) finish. The ideal gift for men and women.

For The Ladies

A—EARRINGS — Exquisite sterling silver drop earrings with the little peace dove incised in oxydized outline on delicate small (5/8") mobile squares. ....Just **$4.95**

B—PENDANT—Lovely 7/8" sterling chain, with dove in incised outline. May be used as charm for charm bracelet.
A wonderful gift for **$4.50**

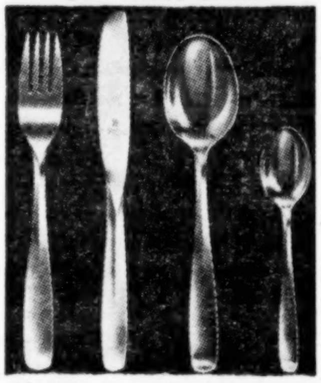
C—PIN—Charming Peace Dove pin 1-3/8" x 1¼". Dove in gleaming, lustrous silhouette. Only **$4.95**

For The Men

D—CUFF LINKS — Handsome 5/8" x 7/8" rectangular blocks of sterling silver with peace dove incised in oxydized outline. Satin finished, with extra firm snap-type cuff link backs. A wonderful gift alone or as a set with matching tie tack. (See below) **$5.95**

E—TIE TACK—A charming match to cuff links. A tiny silhouetted dove in oxydized sterling silver, satin finished. An ideal gift alone or with Cuff links (See above) **$3.50**

STAINLESS STEEL



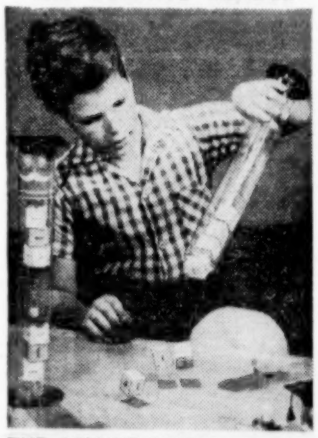
GRASOLI "Europa" (above) — 54 lustrous pieces of the finest stainless steel you can buy! ONLY 22 SETS ON HAND — FIRST COME, FIRST SERVED! Sells regularly for $59.95! Serving for 8, plus ladle, gravy ladle, cake server and salad fork. Made of the finest steel, beautifully satin finished, with mirror bright bowls and scalloped blades. From Solingen, Germany. One of the Guardian's finest values ever, saving you a whopping $20 ....$39.95

POLISH LINENS

Colorful, pure linen cloths, multicolor floral pattern on white. Fast color.

52x52	$4.95
52x70	$5.95

THE ROLLING READER



THE ROLLING READER—Here's a wonderful educational toy for the whole family! Seven unbreakable plastic cubes (you can stand on 'em!) which you throw like dice to build sentences. Each cube has six words with point values. Trick is to make as many different sentences as you can before the sand in the hour glass runs out. Comes in heavy plastic cylinder, with hour glass and instruction booklet. Endorsed by educators. ....Just $3

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Eisenstein and Ivan

SERGEI EISENSTEIN, a most unorthodox maker of films, made his American debut in an appropriately unorthodox fashion. His great movie **Potemkin** was first shown to an invited audience one night in 1925 in the New York penthouse of actress Gloria Swanson. There was no screen for this impromptu production so one of Miss Swanson's bedsheets was pressed into service. There followed a rough three-month battle, waged in the main by Symon Gould and the Film Guild, to get the picture shown in New York. The state censors objected to some violent scenes—especially the Cossack charge against the people of Odessa down the steps leading to the sea. A solution was reached when the censors agreed to a foreword and a postscript asserting that the scenes depicted were historically accurate.

For the 20 years that followed, Eisenstein developed his method of making films which has influenced cinema craftsmen the world over. Drawing from Leonardo da Vinci, from Freud's study of the artist, from the Japanese Kabuki dancers, and from other imaginative sources which excited his fertile mind, he made such masterpieces as **October** (Ten Days That Shook the World), **Old and New, Alexander Nevsky** and the two parts of **Ivan the Terrible.** A trilogy was planned, but his brilliant career was ended by his death in 1948 at the age of 50.

He left behind his films, his writings on cinema theory and practice, hundreds of disciples in all parts of the world, and the mark of his vibrant, exuberant personality on all who worked with him. Nikolai Cherkassov, who plays Ivan, was here last month with a group of Soviet actors to welcome the new film exchange between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. In an interview with Joseph N. Morgenstern in the New York **Herald Tribune,** he said he "wept bitter tears" the day Eisenstein died. He added: "After working under Eisenstein I'm afraid of no director."

NIKOLAI CHERKASSOV
As Ivan the Terrible

ON THE NIGHT OF NOV. 25, at the new Murray Hill Theater in New York, Eisenstein's last work—**Ivan the Terrible,** Part II—had its American premiere. Part I was shown here 12 years ago. Part II, completed during the war in 1945 under incredibly difficult conditions in Alma Ata in Kazakhstan, was withheld from the public for over 12 years, reportedly on the grounds that Ivan had been portrayed as an indecisive leader, as a "scoundrel" rather than a "progressive statesman." The criticism, it was said, came from the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

The ban was reversed in 1958 and the film was an immediate success in the Soviet Union. This year it played six months in Paris.

FOR THIS VIEWER, **Ivan the Terrible** was a moving experience both for the dramatic quality of the film and the exciting production. This is the story of the revolt of the boyars, the landed aristocracy, and their plot, under the guidance of Ivan's aunt, to assassinate him. In a plot within a plot Ivan turns the tables and emerges supreme in his own land.

Here is the master craftsman at work: Every detail is planned; every angle shot and silhouette developed to heighten the psychological effect; the eyes in the closeups used to convey emotion, thought and action. The famed double-level image, in which the camera focuses on an actor and on, say, an abstract mural at the same time, has a remarkable impact. Everything is used for effect; nothing is wasted.

If at first there is a sense of embarrassment over the huge grimacing faces, it is fleeting. Without being conscious of it the viewer is transported into the film's mood and enveloped in its flaring emotions. If the sudden switch from the black-and-white to color is for a moment disconcerting, the use of light and color is so marvelous that one is immediately enchanted.

IN THIS TIME of tight-mouthed, underplayed theater and cinema, the Eisenstein method may be disturbing for those experiencing it for the first time; but even for those who have seen it before, it is unsettling. It is almost unfair to comment on an Eisenstein film after having seen it only once: there is so much to absorb.

Perhaps the film disturbed Stalin and some of the men around him in his last days. If it did it is no wonder: An agonized Ivan asking who gave him the power to judge other men alone is posing a universal question. A lonely leader torn between fear and power and a desire to lift his people up from misery is not a new phenomenon.

Whatever the reason, the release of the film is a great event. Its showing here is something not to be missed.

—James Aronson